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Forgotten images and the geopolitics of memory: the Italo-Ethiopian war (1935-36)

The Italo-Ethiopian war (1935-36) had a profoundly destabilising effect internationally and can be regarded as one of the events that led to the outbreak of the Second World War.

Benito Mussolini's occupation of the country (then known as Abyssinia) was facilitated by the massive use of air power and chemical weapons – in ways that at the time were still unprecedented. Mussolini's chemical war, occurring in a country at the periphery of geopolitical spheres of interest, has remained marginal to established historical narratives, rendering it anachronistically topical to today's politics of memory. By examining two films based on archival film footage, respectively Lutz Becker's documentary *The Lion of Judah, War in Ethiopia 1935-1936* (1981) and Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi's video work *Barbarous Land (Paese barbaro)*, 2013), this article considers the significance of the moving image as a trace of events that have remained for the most part visually undocumented and questions its relevance *vis à vis* today's mediated warfare and the ethics of images.

Key words: Italo-Ethiopian War, Fascism, film, archive, amnesiac trace, transcultural memory.

On November 1st 1911, the first bomb dropped from an Italian aircraft exploded in the North African oasis of Tagiura, near Tripoli.¹ This was preceded by the first military reconnaissance mission which took aerial photographs of the area.² These two episodes signal both the pioneering of air strikes and the implications for air warfare of the eminently modern visual technologies of photography and film.³ This article considers the film footage of another colonial military campaign, the Italo-Ethiopian war (1935-36), and examines its significance in terms of memory. Initiated by Benito Mussolini, the Italo-Ethiopian war led to the colonization of the only remaining independent country in East Africa prior to the Second World War and to the proclamation of the short-lived Italian empire. Italian aviation played a significant role in this conquest through air strikes and the illegal use of chemical weapons. Though it occurred in a country at the periphery of geopolitical spheres of interest, the consequences of Mussolini's campaign in Ethiopia were far-reaching. Indeed, in destabilising the world order established at the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and in challenging the hegemony of the Society of Nations (of which Ethiopia was member state) the Italo-Ethiopian campaign is now regarded as one of the contributory factors in the outbreak of the Second World War.⁴ Nonetheless, as Simone Belladonna observes, Mussolini's chemical war has remained marginal to established historical narratives, whilst – especially in Italy – the events have been surrounded by general amnesia: the Italian government's belated recognition of responsibility in the use of chemical weapons was made only in 1992.⁵ Such recognition, however, is 'exclusively historiographical'.⁶ According to Enzo Traverso, 'it has never really penetrated the collective memory of Italian people for whom, on the whole, the recollection of the war in Ethiopia is that of a naïve and harmless adventure [...]'.⁷ This crisis of memory is accompanied by a supposed lack of images of the genocide: despite the mediatic visibility of the war – for the first time a cinematographic squadron was in charge of

filming military actions – and the extensive propagandistic use both before and during the war of newsreels, cards, posters and photographic album produced for soldiers,⁸ the only images related to the atrocities of the Ethiopian campaign and its aftermath are in private collections.⁹ The rare film footage of the airstrikes (which has generally received less attention than photographs) challenges the quasi-invisibility of Mussolini's gas attacks in Ethiopia. Its significance for the politics of memory relies in the kind of representation that it generates *vis à vis* today's mediated warfare and of the present liability for past violence.

The article examines two artists' films, Lutz Becker's documentary *The Lion of Judah, War in Ethiopia 1935-1936* (1981) and Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi's video work *Barbarous Land* (*Paese barbaro*, 2013). Both films remediate archival footage dealing extensively with fascism and its manifestations compiled from a number of sources that include newsreels, propaganda films, private home movies and unofficial film footage of the air strikes to create visual palimpsests in which the terror of war as afforded by the moving image is inscribed within the ideological discourses that generated it.¹⁰ Through a study of war practices *The Lion of Judah*¹¹ charts the unfolding of the conflict as experienced on both fronts including rare images that show the devastating effects of gas on people and the environment, thus framing the silenced experience of terror of the Ethiopian population in terms of what Judith Butler refers to as the 'precariousness of life' of those whose life is apprehended by the aggressor who endangers it as 'less valuable' and therefore 'less grievable' in the face of loss than its own.¹² *Barbarous Land* deals with colonialism as a form of fascism that still resonates with today's conflicts and resurgence of right wing politics by juxtaposing propaganda and private film footage to interrogate its visual constructions. Despite thematic differences, both films use a formal approach to historical sources to examine scopic tropes of colonialism and imperialistic violence in ways that are conducive to a questioning of silence in the politics of memory in terms of the ethics of images. Hence, the

article focuses on a specific reading of the archival filmic material in these films and their contemporary contextualisation rather than on the historiography of colonial film and filmography under fascism.

Silence, according to Luisa Passerini, denotes any representation of and reflection on the past that stems from remembering.¹³ Any discussion of memory, in fact, invests in the interaction ‘between present and past, silence and speech, the individual and the collective, and (is) thus a narrative made up of individual and collective forms of forgetting’.¹⁴ The films of Becker and Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi present us with these kinds of ‘silenced’ memories made up of ‘individual and collective forgetting’ as they have been mediated by one of the twentieth and twenty-first century’s defining technologies of recording and documenting the immanence of experience, the moving image. Elsewhere, drawing on current neuro-psychological models and extending it to Aleida Assmann’s suggestion of the potential mobilization of what is ‘hidden or out of reach’ in cultural environments of remembering, I argue for the ways in which the traces of memories which have been silenced or remain unremembered are not completely erased but continue to endure in memory interacting with its processes.¹⁵ In the case of the Italo-Ethiopian war such environments of remembering pertain to the ideological legacy of fascism and the transcultural recollection of European imperialism in Africa and to a broader discussion of the politics of memory in the present. Whilst the paucity of Ethiopian sources – especially visual ones – is indicative of the anxieties and contradictions that characterise colonial archives as sites where colonial power relations continue to be articulated,¹⁶ film footage of the gas attack invites a questioning of the representation of present as well as past violence, of the persistence of what has been silenced in memory as affect, and of the pertinence of such issues for the memorialisation of today’s wars. Within the extensive archival filmic documentation of fascism and the Italo-Ethiopian war, Becker and Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi in their respective films engage with

the silenced memories of Mussolini's gas airstrikes by exposing the scopic regimes and visual tropes that characterise the filmic footage. The remediation of such filmic archival traces based on montage as a means of analysis thus underpins our examination of the kind of "memories" that the moving image brings to an historiography of the Italo-Ethiopian war in terms of the epistemology of the medium and its specific shaping and communication of affect.¹⁷ The article first examines *The Lion of Judah*, then *Barbarous Land*, and further relates their readings in the concluding section to a questioning of their significance for today's media memories of war and the ethics of images.

Threat from the sky: Lutz Becker's The Lion of Judah (1981)

In his analysis of air warfare, Peter Sloterdijk claims that the beginning of the twentieth century was marked by a single event that took place on April 22nd 1915 when 'a specially formed German 'gas regiment' launched the first, large-scale operation against French-Canadian troops in the northern Ypres Salient using chlorine gas as a means of combat'.¹⁸ An aerial photograph documents the toxic cloud caused by the chemical weapon. It shows a newly established target and combat zone: 'the enemy's environment' through contamination.¹⁹ This, according to Sloterdijk, sanctions the transition from traditional warfare to 'terrorism': 'terror operates on a level beyond the naïve exchange of armed blows between regular troops; it involves replacing this classical forms of battle with assaults on the environmental conditions of the enemy's life' through 'the encounter between opponents vastly unequal in strength – as we see in the current conjuncture of non-state wars and hostilities between armed state forces and non-state combatants'.²⁰ Becker's examination through archival film footage of Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia is indicative of such a transition and of the emergence of terror as a form of attack that impinges on the environment. *The Lion of Judah*, in Becker's words, is 'an anthropological study of war and its rituals'.²¹ The film evidences the shift in combat argued by Sloterdijk by juxtaposing the

classical warfare of the Ethiopian army to the modern use of armaments by the Italian invader. The comparison points to the impact of technology on combat and, through the specificity of film, displays the emergence of new forms of terror. Becker suggests the inequality between the two armies. In comparison to the Italian troops, the Ethiopian ones were ill-equipped, still deploying old-fashioned weapons, since only the military elite had been trained by western armies and used Belgian rifles (voiceover) (fig 1 and 2). This contrast between traditional forms of battle and modern warfare, is epitomised by the Italian air-force. Becker's remediation of the historical film footage evinces the emergence of atmospherics as a site of combat and that of terror as the affect which dominates it.

The Lion of Judah opens with a sequence showing archaeological excavations in Rome in the 1930s as a direct allusion to the fascist appropriation of the splendour of the Roman empire to support its colonial enterprise. Becker frames Mussolini's colonial war within the context of the fascist appropriation of Rome's imperial past to support the hegemonic purposes of the regime by symbolically legitimising Italy's aspiration to an empire as the renewal of its ancient past. This is further emphasised in the following sequences which cut to images of the triumphal Arch of Augustus, the first imperial military parade in 1937 and to an earlier speech by Mussolini asserting that under fascism the Italian people would become masters of their own destiny as shown by the growing development of the arms industry in the 1930s and the militarization of the country in preparation for the colonial war which was meant to overcome mass unemployment (voiceover) and demonstrate to the world the strength as well as moral character of the Italian people.²² Through a programmatic use of history, the present itself is thus mythologised and embedded into an epochal narrative that serves to infuse and support colonial aspirations.²³ The focus of Becker's film then moves to the streets of the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, before the Italian invasion, a place at the cusp of tradition and modernization. These initial sequences foreground the role of newsreel

and more generally of the moving image as a modern medium whose potential was harnessed for mass education. They also suggest the overlapping of different non-fictional genres, such as newsreels, educational films, travelogue and documentary, all characterised by realism as their defining aesthetic trope. Realism, with its supposed ‘unmediated’ rendering of experience, as ‘an aesthetic which promoted fidelity of representation and concern for accuracy and objectivity’ was deployed to support the imperialist ideology of the regime and appropriated for the filming of war by the military that used advanced shooting techniques that intensified the impression of the shots and effectiveness of camera angles.²⁴

In these first sequences, Becker’s use of montage establishes the syntactic constructions of *The Lion of Judah* and its specific use of archival film footage. As in previous films dealing with the nazification of Germany (i.e. *The Double Headed Eagle* and *Swastika*),²⁵ the archival film footage dictates both the form and content of the film. Unlike traditional documentary in which archival excerpts tend to be used illustratively, in this case through the remediation of film footage that range from propaganda film and newsreels to rare archival footage of the Italian airstrikes on the Red Cross and the effect of mustard gas on civilians, Becker shapes and articulates a filmic study of war from both fronts, thus giving visual presence not only to the Ethiopian army, but most significantly in terms of the politics of memory to what has been silenced in the historical and cultural recollection: the terror of the gas attacks as experienced by civilians. The formal intersecting of the different archival sources unfolds through thematic and internal filmic links (i.e. the bridging from one sequence to the other is created by procedural links of point of view and camera movements, or sensorial or atmospheric relations across frames). Evident are the texture and atmosphere of the original footage that the montage brings to the fore by means of internal visual associations, the use of close-ups, and the repetition or juxtaposition of shots, whilst the original soundtrack of the footage can be heard in the pauses between the voiceover

commentaries. Becker focuses on prosaic details of facial expressions or bodily postures, warfare procedures and drills to disclose traces of what memory brings to history as affect and emotion.

By juxtaposing the differing practices of the Ethiopian and Italian army, Becker achieves a double perspective on the unfolding of the events and their consequences. Parades, gatherings, and speeches, but also bodily attires and movements – whether cheering or dancing – reveal different ways of conveying power, obedience, and emotion. The montage of Mussolini's speeches from Palazzo Venezia underlines his characteristic manly attitude and emphatic hand-gestures, implicitly contrasting them to the Negus Hailé Selassié's still countenance. A parade of war lords in Addis Ababa accompanied by dancers and a procession led by the emperor to the Coptic Church of Saint George ceremonially display the supposed unanimity of the country around the monarch before he leaves the Ethiopian capital for the town of Horra. The war of colonisation exploited internal religious and ethnic divisions between the Christian Coptic and Muslim population and the footage in Becker's film includes images showing Hailé Selassié negotiating with local Islamic leaders. The scene resonates with the no less symbolic demonstration of the Italian people's loyalty to Mussolini through the public donation of wedding rings to collect gold to support the war after the League of Nations' imposition of economic sanctions on Italy in November 1935. Mussolini ideally weds the country to his cause of national unification through this symbolic exchange of rings: men and women are shown taking off their wedding rings, 'ritualistically' kissing them, before throwing the gold band in a caldron, and then receiving one made of iron. In juxtaposing the two ceremonies, Becker's montage draws attention to details such as the lion-head covering of one of the Ethiopian warlords, the ceremonial waving of spears and the thumping of feet on the ground to the rhythmic beating of drums in a traditional dance, suggesting continuity with ancient practices and their symbolism. In the Italian footage, the

montage emphasises the emblematic significance and ideological implications of the pledging of rings by way of visual iteration as we see the same gestures repeated several times. It is by focusing on these seemingly irrelevant details that Becker hones in what the moving image as a documenting medium retains as the immanence of experience, its felt sense, capable of conveying the *affect* of war.

Practices are in fact the *leit-motif* of *The Lion of Judah*. Whilst the voiceover chronicles the historical development of the invasion, the visual component of Becker's film focuses on combat and its activities, including marching, charging and firing machine guns, or loading bombs on an aircraft. As Pierre Solin remarks citing an Italian tactician, Alberto Guglielmotti, the Ethiopian war defined a new style of war of joined forces against the enemy that cinema reproduced 'showing again and again the self-contained, self-sufficient unit as appropriate to modern war'.²⁶ Repetition thus acts as the defining quality of modern warfare carried out by autonomous army units. In his remediation, Becker exploits the possibility of repetition of the moving image by repeating single frames, thus evidencing their visual structure and the articulation of affect in the shots. In the montage, Becker also slightly extends the duration of the frames. As a result, the camera lingers on how a simple action is carried out, such as pointing, charging or carrying weapons, different ways of marching of the Italian and Ethiopian troops, or the ceremonial preparation for combat – whether praying or dancing, thus emphasising both its practical execution and symbolic meanings. The slower duration of the sequences also points out the formal modalities of framing, thus bringing to the fore the aesthetic strategies of filming war. Within this context Becker intersects aerial reconnaissance footage and non-official reportage of air strikes conducted by the Italian air force. The reconnaissance footage, filmed from the vantage-point of the aircraft itself, shows low banks of clouds as it surveys the land below. The images then shift to a flying squadron of bombers, and cut to shots (iterated in the montage) of the taking off of a bomber and close-

ups of the cockpit's control panel during the operation of opening the bomb bays. The film camera follows the loading and dropping of bombs, tracking their mid-air falling before they reach the target. The film footage testifies to the prominence given to aviation by the Italian army commanders and to the reciprocity between military and documenting technologies, 'as a realm where older fantasies of movement and conquest came together with the new cultures of violence made possible by changes in military technologies' and, we might add, those of visual recording.²⁷ Becker's montage emphasises the shifting points of view among frames – from the aerial perspective of the initial reconnaissance footage to showing the bombs' trajectory in the air before explosion, to sequences of the squadron's formation and the close-ups of the cockpit. The film-camera allegedly documents the procedures of technological warfare in ways that are divorced from its effects as it is strategically positioned at the intersection of two scopic regimes, the new vertical regime of airspace as a zone of combat and the traditional horizontal regime of land-line.²⁸ In itself a mechanised technology of documentation, the film-camera shares the point of view of the machine (e.g. aircraft, bomb), and it is therefore at the centre of a system in which the procedures of both bombing and documenting appear as if they were disengaged from human agency. Such dissociation of agency, procedure and upshot in the act of filming defines the relation between representations of war and military practices, suggesting the inseparability of 'the material reality of war from those representational regimes from which it operates and which rationalize its own operations'.²⁹ Becker's remediation exposes the representational regimes of these images and with them the latency of an event which remains off frame but whose indeterminacy lingers disturbingly at the periphery of the shot and at the margin of visibility. This evinces the affect implicit in the archival film footage as the diffuse foreboding of the attack and the saturation of fear that airstrikes generated (fig. 3).

Becker further emphasises the disturbance embedded in these aerial images by juxtaposing them to rare film footage shot on the ground by a Russian cameraman of the bombing of a Red Cross Adventist hospital compound and field hospital on 6th December 1935³⁰ in the town of Dessi, where Hailé Selassié had established his headquarters during the war. The sequence opens with images of the Red Cross flag at the top of a high pole, then moves to a long-range shot of the field hospital in the deserted landscape that cuts to the courtyard of the hospital where children of various ages are gathered around a long table for a meal. They eat quietly. Older children supervised by an adult help the youngest. The film camera focuses on some of the children's faces: one of them waves to it, another stares back at the camera with a serious, almost sulking expression. The noise of an approaching aircraft becomes audible. In the next sequence, the children are shown running out of the hospital gates into a nearby trench. Close-ups of bodies crawling in the trench and of a couple of children raising their heads over the edge are combined with distant views of the hospital and intersected through montage with aerial views of the bombing. The hospital is hit. The voiceover cites General Badoglio's intention with such civilian air raids to accelerate the conclusion of the war and to discourage the presence of international witnesses – notwithstanding Red Cross volunteers continued to stay throughout the war (voiceover). Other sequences of air attacks on Red Cross field hospitals include that of the Swedish field hospital in Melka Dida (30th December 1935) and of the British Red Cross on the Korem Plain (4th March 1936), where poison gas was used (fig. 4).³¹ Shot from the ground, the images show the dropping of bombs on a village, the landscape devastated by the contaminating cloud released by the chemical weapons, corpses of people who died from its effects, flames destroying a hospital tent and doctors trying to treat those whose flesh had been burned by the gas. In one of these sequences, the film camera shares the gaze of an elderly man who observes the devastation around him. We see the smoke caused by an

explosion, then the suffering faces and burnt limbs of the wounded. The smoke filling the frame hints at the harmful contamination that lingers invisible in the atmosphere and one can almost smell the burnt flesh. The film-camera pauses with an Ethiopian man who scrutinises the sky for an airstrike, and then Becker cuts to the only anti-aircraft weapon that the Negus personally manoeuvred from a cave in the mountains.

In these sequences the dominant vertical perspective of the aerial footage contrasts with the plan-sequence and close-ups of the outshoots of the bombing. The shift of plan and point of view – from external and distant to ‘internal’ and close – is indicative of the detached overview imposed by the politics of memory and its screening of the damage caused by the airstrikes versus the enduring terror that pervades the atmospheres. The protracted camera span on the devastated landscape shares the gaze of individuals that observes the burned down surroundings and peruse the sky for signs of attack. Here, ‘reality’ – as Butler’s observers – ‘is not conveyed by what is represented within the image but through the challenge to representation that reality delivers’.³² These images engage with the challenge to representation posed by airstrikes and the use of chemical gas by sharing the sensory field of those under attack and making terror perceptible. Becker’s montage further stresses these features through their juxtaposition to the aerial views of the bombing. Whilst atmospherics, as argued by Sloterdijk, act as both the physical and figurative site of modern technological warfare, here the montage brings to bear the consequences of modern war on the injured bodies, animal carcasses and the polluted landscape as evinced by the formal features of the frames, rendering perceptible the lingering presence of terror as *contamination*, both in the sense of pollution and belated disturbance. *The Lion of Judah* concludes with images of the victorious entry of the Italian artillery in the derelict streets of Addis Ababa which are contrasted with those of a woman carrying a bag as she traverses the camera’s view suggesting the despondency of ordinary people’s life. The proclamation of the Italian empire

however is short-lived and the film ends with the return from exile of Hailé Selassié in 1941 when Ethiopia was liberated by allied forces.

Seen today, the war scenarios of airstrikes presented in *The Lion of Judah* are comparable to those of many of the twentieth and twentieth-first century conflicts both in terms of geopolitical dynamics of influence and control, displacement and marginality, and of the images they generate. Such images intimate the emergence of new paradigms of representation as well as combat. In particular, they suggest the ways the film camera shares the position of hegemonic scopic regimes – the vertical perspective that defines the airstrikes themselves – but also the opposite one – that of those on whom violence is inflicted by exposing terror as the affect of the images themselves. It is indeed by drawing our attention to the emotional charge inscribed within the frame that Becker implicates the moving image as a record of experience not only in terms of historiographical evidence but also of emotional contingency. Emotion, as Avishai Margalit argues, imposes an engagement with the ethics of remembering since it concerns what is repressed and silenced as much as what is overtly dealt with.³³ The film footage in *The Lion of Judah* introduces the notion of terror to the ethics of remembering as the emotionally repressed charge of modern warfare epitomised by aerial airstrikes and the use of chemical weapons thus inviting a questioning of such images in the present. By including filmic archival images of what the politics of memory have silenced about Italian colonialism during the fascist regime, Becker inscribes the otherwise excluded experience of the airstrikes by civilians in the visual contextualization of the war thus probing the boundaries of representability of the events from the point of view of the colonised. Before moving to further considerations of the ways in which such archival film footage is conducive to a broader discussion of the ethics of images in relation to politics of memory, we shall examine Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi's reflection on fascism. In their work, they also focus on the formal features of the shot to examine how the colonisation of

Ethiopia as filmed by a private individual shared similar strategies of representation of war to the one in official films.

The disquiet of images: Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi's Barbarous Land (2013)

Throughout their career, Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi have consistently engaged with archival film footage as both a means and subject of enquiry. Drawing on diverse and carefully researched sources, including footage by renowned professional filmmakers, anonymous or amateur cameramen, and found or discarded footage, Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi address the twentieth-century's emergence of film as a defining technology of recording, testifying to the immanence of the medium in documenting public events as well as ordinary life, as a private or semi-private testimony akin to the epistolary, memoir or personal journal.³⁴ Whilst the subject of Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi's films span from the First World War to the Armenian Genocide, fascism, colonialism, and imperialism, their practice questions the relevance of the moving image as an archival record by suggesting its importance for the present.³⁵

Formally their artistic practice is characterised by slowing down the original footage by re-photographing and re-assembling each frame. They also enlarge, tint, invert or replicate some of the frames drawing attention to the internal composition and texture of the shot, and to the most minute details within it, whether a gesture, expression or atmospheric feature. This focus on composition and detail highlights the modes of engagement of the camera lens, and hence the visual and structural patterns that the footage denotes. The artists are also drawn by the physical signs of use and deterioration of the filmstrip itself. 'The sign of consumption, deterioration, and chemical decomposition of nitrate strikes us' – state Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi. 'Moreover,' they continue, 'the concept of materiality couples with the impression of having to do with 'lived' images. They suggest the idea of a consumption of the visual

element triggered by those gazes which saw them – mostly private gazes, since the spectator was quite often the one projecting these very images, even touching the film and leaving his fingerprints on it'.³⁶ The inclusion of private archival film footage enables the artists to focus on everyday images of the past and its homely representations, on the way in which, in the case of *Barbarous Land*, an amateur film-maker filmed the colonial war and how he saw the effect of poisonous gas.

Barbarous Land deals with Mussolini's colonization of Libya and Ethiopia. The film, divided into thematic chapters introduced by intertitles, features archival film footage with a specially composed soundtrack and a commentary read by the artists. The opening sequences act as a prelude and show the public display in 1945 of the corpses of Mussolini and his mistress, Clara Petacci, as the crowd press around their bodies lying on the tarmac. The images are preceded by a quotation from the Italian writer Italo Calvino remarking that Mussolini, who had been responsible for 'massacres without images, was now the image of his own massacre' (intertitle). The slowed-down footage lingers on the corpses exposed to the gaze of the pressing crowd. The film camera focuses on individual faces and the expression of the many men and women gathered around the dead dictator. Self-reflectively, some shots also show a cameraman filming the scene. This reminder of film as contingent to the unfolding of history implicitly begs the question of what is the memory of events supposedly without images, and what kind of remembering can ensue from the remediation of their filmic archival traces. In *Barbarous Land*, through montage and the juxtaposition of official and private film footage, Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi focus on what remains liminal to historical narratives: individually-mediated memories that expose the subliminally repressed content that fed colonialism, thus adding a further dimension to a questioning in the present of Mussolini's chemical war. Especially relevant for our discussion is the film footage related to Ethiopia.

From the crowd gathered around Mussolini's corpse in 1945, *Barbarous Land* moves back in time to a celebratory military parade in Tripoli in April 1926, at which both the dictator and king Umberto I were present (fig. 5). The footage shows the regime's display of power in the newly conquered colony, whilst in turn the gathered crowd of local people perform their own supposed acceptance of the coloniser by responding with the characteristic fascist salute. The official documentation glamourises the Empire for audiences at home, using the medium of film to support imperial policies through a subservient representation of the local population. The performative qualities of official ceremonies translates into the performative intention of the images themselves and the ways in which they were used to shape and display national identity.³⁷ Whilst the empire served as a means of 'national building and international prestige' – as Ruth Ben-Ghiat remarks – 'imperial ideologies were fueled by a particular Italian discourse of *ressentiment*: empire would correct a history of marginalization by the "Great Powers" giving Italy the possibility to refute perceptions of Italian "backwardness".³⁸ Within this context, as already remarked about *The Lion of Judah*, fascism exploited Roman ancient history to construe the Mediterranean as the privileged site for the creation of the Italian empire and of a myth able to disavow repressed feelings of inferiority. The filming of such ceremonies thus fulfil the purposes of delineating the conditions of such disavowal not merely by ways of "description" but rather by configuring and constructing experience through its representation as filmmakers exploit the medium's possibilities of montage and edit to evince the performativity of public events to create audiences' imperial sensibility.³⁹ Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi juxtapose the official propaganda film to images shot on a boat leading to Libya. Young women are filmed dancing and playing in a circle on the lower deck, whilst fashionable couples dance on the upper one. The class divide of Italian society is transposed on the colony with the arrival of civil servants, doctors, industrialists as well as clerks, nurses and teachers. They are the agents of

the supposed “civilizing process” of colonisation that under its benign façade disguised exploitative and oppressive facets. *Barbarous Land* then cut to a carnival parade in the streets of Tripoli and then in an Italian town. The subversive power which the pageant allegedly endorses, however, displaces the actual coercion of the regime, which included deportation and concentration camps, as remarked in the voiceover.⁴⁰ Rather than boisterous, the film footage conveys a dreary undercurrent, a sullen uncomfortable feeling of oppression. In Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi’s remediation, the extended duration of the frames reveals the affect of each shot, as light level, movement and texture, from which exudes the bleakness of these images. Also increasingly evident is the ideological underpinning of the historical film footage. Realism dominates the aesthetics of these sequences that share similar camera angles and plan-sequence of those used in educational films and newsreel insinuating a convergence of fascism’s imperialism with the ideological colonisation of the everyday life and its expressions.

The coercion of the regime on the individual is also the subject *Barbarous Land*’s third chapter which deals with military, religious and civilian displays in the 1930s. The deteriorated film footage shows parading soldiers who have become white silhouettes against a red background. The artists juxtapose these images with those of a religious ceremony, suggesting the implications of the Catholic Church with the regime, and of a public parade of Mussolini’s supporters. Children and adolescents are shown in fascist conventions and games; adults are no less drawn to the party’s populist ceremonies. By slowing down the original film footage, Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi accentuate the effect of close-ups focusing on the physiognomy of the man in the street, his expressions and mannerisms, thus suggesting the normalising force of fascism on the individual. Their montage focuses on the everyday experience of the regime and its affect as it manifests through gestures, appearances, and codified practices. The private world of these ‘lived images’ – to use the

artists' phrase – betrays the commonplace forms of ideology in the forgotten features of ordinary expressions and mundane actions. Realism, as an aesthetics capable of supporting imperialist aspirations, as noted about the film footage in *The Lion of Judah*, is also the visual trope of images meant to generate a common imaginary of unity and participation, easily becoming the visual model on which private individuals would shape their own perception and representation of how they experienced the colonised countries.

It is within this discursive contexts of fascism pervasive colonisation of the individual and its visual filmic expressions that Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi introduce the footage about Ethiopia. The intertitle reproduces an original slogan from 1935 claiming the arrival of civilization to this 'primitive and barbarous country' (film intertitle). The chapter opens with the dark silhouettes of a rhythmic dance in which men carry spears against a carmine sky. The footage then cut to images of a local village, to the close-up of a young woman's face (who also appears in Becker's *The Lion of Judah*) and to a mother breast-feeding her baby. The images testify to the disturbing forms that the racial discourse took in the popular imagination: the colonising gaze behind the film camera – as the film's commentary states – typifies African people as 'primitive, barbarous, evil, bigamous and dangerous' (voiceover). This is exemplified in a sequence showing a soldier washing the face, nape and *decoltage* of the young woman portrayed in the previous shot and then the woman with her shirt open displaying her breasts to the film camera (fig.6). The act of washing is filmed in a semi-close-up that is erotically charged, voyeuristically indulgent and mortifying. Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi's extension of the duration of each frame helps to isolate as well as emphasise the sensuality and objectifying nature of the Italian man's gesture as he touches the young woman's body smiling to the camera, which slowly moves from the woman's breasts to her face. In the artists' remediation, the man's gesture is symptomatic of colonial power relations as commonly enacted in the encounters between Italian soldiers and local people. The

sequence suggests the *mentality* that imbued such encounters by displaying the allure and fear of contamination that the woman's body awoke in the Italian man and by extension in the anonymous filmmaker.

In his writing about cinema, Giorgio Agamben underlines the centrality of gesture for the moving image as a means that inscribes film within the field of ethics as well as aesthetics, since gesture 'is a moment of life subtracted from the context of individual biography as well as a moment of art subtracted from the neutrality of aesthetics: it is pure praxis', that crystalises as social substance.⁴¹ By slowing down the archival film footage, Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi expose the cinematic gesture of filming itself as praxis and reveal the demagogic features that characterise the visual construction of the frame as evinced by the medium's apparatus.⁴² In so doing they make apparent the ideology that imbues the act of filming as well as those gestures that the cine-camera captures on the filmstrip thus outlining a 'cartography of gestures and filmic movements' that displays, in the case of *Barbarous Land*, the underlying contents that forged the construction of fascist ideology and its manifestations.⁴³ The overt sexual innuendoes of the film footage are in fact indicative of a broader underpinning of feelings of attraction and repulsion that many Italians felt towards Ethiopia and its people as evinced in memoirs and other writings of the period in which desire and fascination mingled with racial prejudices and stereotypes.⁴⁴ The overt eroticization of the images also betrays the rhetoric of violation and subjugation typical of fascism and its appropriation of colonial tropes. It conveys established ways of seeing and hence representing African people, particularly women, endorsing the masculine imaginary that directs the gaze behind the film camera in a stereotypical representation that mimic the official colonial discourse.⁴⁵ The film footage unashamedly suggests eroticism as a means used by the fascist propaganda to support the invasion of Ethiopia, visually intimating the

racist feelings of white superiority, fantasies of desire, conquest and adventure that were ascribed to the colonial conquest of East Africa.⁴⁶

Such a visual construction of colonialism as it emerges from both official and private archival film introduces the last two chapters of *Barbarous Land* which deal with the military invasion of Ethiopia as filmed by a technician working for the Italian air-force. Despite the media's coverage of the invasion of Ethiopia wanted by Mussolini, the fascist regime, as already suggested, was however careful in ensuring that no images of the massacres of civilians and of the use of gas were circulated. Censorship applied to private as well as official photographs and films, both during and after the war. This silencing renders these images even more conspicuous. The film footage shows animals' carcasses and the devastation caused by the chemical weapons deployed by the Italian army. The sequence then cuts to shots of an aeroplane hangar, a pile of bombs ready to be loaded, and aerial views taken from a bomber which are comparable to the ones included in *The Lion of Judah*. In *Barbarous Land*, reconnaissance aerial images are juxtaposed with views of the devastated landscape burnt by the toxic gas; here we see an Italian official scrutinising the corpse of an antelope (fig. 7). The sequence then shifts back to the air force hangar where Mussolini's son-in-law, Gian Galeazzo Ciano, is inspecting the squadron of bombers at his command, named 'La Disperata' (fig. 8). The vicinity of these two sequences suggests the overlapping of the praxis of filming with military practices of mapping and reviewing. This private footage, as Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi comment, 'has not been touched, there is no editing, they are in the same sequence as the shooting. Sequences of aerial mapping of the territory, the loading of mustard gas onto bombers, the use of which has always been denied. They show its effects on dead animals'.⁴⁷ These sequences substantiate the thematic threads developed throughout *Barbarous Land*, whereby the colonisation of Africa also matched a colonisation of the individual by the fascist regime. Hence, the scene in the village presents

us with a representation of native people that is congruent with established cinematic (as well as literary) tropes testifying to a well-established taste for the exotic and a fantasy of the African continent saturated with mystery, danger and sensuality. The aerial views, however, as in the case of Becker's film, *The Lion of Judah*, shift the emphasis to newly established practices of reconnaissance flight and the related filmic documentation attesting to growing 'strategies of visual domination', which would define twentieth and twentieth-first century scopical regimes.⁴⁸ The footage filmed by the Italian technician characteristically condenses established and emergent modes of representation, providing us with an early example of practices of filming war that are still pertinent today as these images are part of the private uncensored records of the colonial campaign and its atrocities whose documentation the regime carefully monitored.

The final chapter in *Barbarous Land* consists of a series of film stills and photographs that act as a visual memoir in which family photographs (taken in Italy) mix and intersect with shots of life in Ethiopia. The latter include images of the air force base, of colleagues of the engineer, and of the engineer himself with friends and local women. The middle-class life-style of the 'Italian family' is juxtaposed with the life-style in Ethiopia, its contradictions and complexities alluding to a subtext of references in which the relation of 'here and there' shifts as the images unfold and the 'there' represented by Ethiopia becomes the 'here' of experience that fills these mostly silenced memories of war. The slow leafing through, shot after shot, in Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi's film of this visual memoir is revealing of the *mentality* that informed the pictures. Indeed, the footage reflects the ways in which the colonial encounter acted as an external mirror for the articulations of individual and collective identities, including male gender constructions.⁴⁹ Far from homogenous and stable, such identities embodied biases and fantasies, but also contended with the expectations and aspirations with which fascism had presented the conquest of Ethiopia to the Italian people.

In her analysis of the gender implications of the Italo-Ethiopian war, Giulietta Stefani points out that the military campaign acted as a catalyst to a generalised crisis of male identity, whereby the Ethiopian campaign became a site of ‘regeneration’ for Italian men in ways that were congruent with a widespread reaffirmation of masculinity across the conservative political ideology of the time which reaffirmed man’s predominance in ways that are still used in today’s military rhetoric.⁵⁰ Thus, in conferring legibility to the postures, expressions and gestures that the colonial encounter and military campaign took for an individual, Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi abstract the mundane forms of fascism and its private expression from the historical film footage, as a way of being, thinking and moving, and mostly as ways of seeing and filming, complicating official constructions of the Italo-Ethiopian war and its marginalisation within the contemporary politics of memory.

It is by drawing our attention to the individual and the ordinary expressions of ideology, not least as filming, that Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi expose the contemporary relevance of this colonial memoir as a denunciation of the resurgence of fascism in our time: ‘every epoch has its own Fascism’ remark the artists at the end of the film (voiceover). Such an approach resonates with Geoff Eley’s notion of fascism as a ‘portable’ concept that acts as a template through which we can read the symptoms of our own time and tendencies that inform today’s post-colonial scenarios.⁵¹ Accordingly, the artists’ remediation evinces fascism’s defining motifs – notably modernism and imperialism, violence as a form governability, colonisation of the everyday and an ideological appropriation of aesthetics⁵² – from the archival film footage. *Barbarous Land* concludes with the artists’ statement ‘Insolent and horribly grotesque, fascism has resurged. We feel the disquiet. We have plunged into a dark night. We do not know what is to come. And you?’ (intertitle). By directly inviting the viewer to share a reflection on the disquiet of the resurgence of fascism as a contemporary ideology, the artists

call upon the *presentness* of the historical film footage and of its mnemonic significance in our time.

Silenced memories and the presentness of the past

In their analysis of the mediation of warfare, Andrew Hoskins and Ben O'Loughlin consider the effects on memory of the emergence and diffusion of images of war across traditional and digital media, arguing for the malleable interconnection between the remembering of events and their mediation, whereby 'a memory culture is thus also shaped through the ongoing technological developments that afford different modes of representation and mediation'.⁵³ Today this involves an 'unprecedented archival accumulation and emergence of a 'hybrid memorial media culture' [that] raises both prospects and problems for future social and cultural memory'.⁵⁴ The proliferation of institutional governmental archives is counteracted by the 'fluidity, reproducibility, and transferability of digital data' characterized by 'a shift 'from archival space' to 'archival time' feeding new opportunities for the digital production and reproduction of war memories' which, as in case of soldiers' mobile phone videos, can undermine official reports.⁵⁵ The archival film footage in *The Lion of Judah* and *Barbarous Land* of clandestine and private images already suggests the 'diffusion' of memory and emergence of a new kind of production of war memories in the first decades of the twentieth century which is relevant for a questioning of today's practices. The mediating procedures of the film-camera in fact already bring to the fore, as evinced in Becker's and Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi's remediation respectively, the visual and by extension ideological structures that inform such images thus suggesting their ethics dimension in ways that are also relevant for today's practices. This concerns official film footage but also, as discussed, rare images of war and contamination filmed by a private individual, belonging to his personal visual memoir of the colonial war. Here, the remediation of the films evinces the ideological overlaying that defines the act of framing as a means of structuring perception and

interpretation.⁵⁶ Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi's montage demonstrates how this visual memoir unwittingly shares the dominant perspective of surveillance as it contends with "documenting" the use of gas as part of the record of the experience of war, attesting to the broader uncertainty typical of private archives with what was emergent with colonialism 'in how people imagined they could and might make rubrics of rule correspond to a changing imperial world'.⁵⁷ Though these images challenge the censorship of official and private images of the use of gas imposed by Mussolini's regime and continued by post-war Italian governments and institutional archives, as a trace that interferes with the silencing of such memories of war, their significance also resides in the resonance of such memories in the present. This private filmic memoir, as the artists suggest, invite us to look beyond the specificity of the situation to ask what the filmic traces of silenced memories bring to our understanding of the present, what forms can be abstracted to interpret the affective resonances of what the frames contain and what they leave out.

Framing, as Judith Butler argues in her discussion of photographs of war, operates as a structure of interpretation: 'in framing reality, the photograph has already determined what will count within the frame – and this act of delineation is surely interpretative as are, potentially, the various effects of angle, focus, light [...]'; accordingly, as Butler continues, 'interpretation takes place by virtue of the structuring of constraints of genre and form on the communicability of affect – so sometimes takes place against one's will or, indeed in spite of oneself'.⁵⁸ Whilst Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi examines framing as the gesture contained in the images themselves as the ideological structure that govern them in terms of praxis, in *The Lion of Judah* by juxtaposing film footage of the airstrikes from the contrasting perspectives of the Italian air-force and Ethiopian civilians, Becker exposes the contrasting forms that the communicability of affect might take by evincing the ways in which terror differently defines these images and the capacity of the moving image to display the pervading traumatic effects

of the bombing as the interpretative intention contained within the frames themselves. Whilst in the aerial views from the Italian bombers, terror denotes the ideological constructions of the images thus defining the controlling power of their scopic regimes, the footage of the bombardments and gas attacks shot on the ground disrupts such a construction by framing the ‘precariousness of life’, to use Butler’s phrase, under attack and the long-lasting effects that terror has as a contaminating feeling.

The residual traces the artists mobilise in their work are thus not an overt content of the film footage itself, but rather of what has been ostensibly silenced and forgotten by the politics of memory. This concerns the pervasiveness of both ideology and terror as modern affective conditions of dominance. As George Didi-Huberman points out in his analysis of images of the Holocaust, ‘the ethical dimension does not disappear in images. So it is a *question of choice*: in the face of every image we have to choose whether, or how, to make it participate in our knowledge and action’.⁵⁹ Such participation of images into knowledge (and action) calls on the individual’s responsibility in the process of representation and thus the ways in which a reflection on the past and its images can solicit a questioning of the present and of the ideologies that imbue the images that we film and disseminate – the forms and dynamics that characterise our own adherence to them.

If, as Enzo Traverso remarks, recent wars are also ‘wars of memory’ since they have been justified by the ‘ritualistic evocation’ of ‘a duty to remember’,⁶⁰ the forgotten film footage of the Italian airstrikes in Ethiopia and their related ‘collateral damage’ raises the issue of how we make such images ‘participate into knowledge and action’ in relation to today’s ‘wars of memory’. The memory-scape of contemporary wars is marred by the latent threat that has redefined the modern perception of atmospherics revealing their vulnerability. ‘New weapons of terror’ – argues Sloterdijk – ‘are those through which the basic means of survival are made more explicit; new categories of attack are those which expose – in the mode of a bad

surprise – new surfaces of vulnerability’.⁶¹ Weapons of terror include military practices of surveillance that use state-of-the art photographic and filmic technologies, and modes of documenting and archiving. ‘Surfaces of vulnerability’, as the archival film footage in *The Lion of Judah* and *Barbarous Land* already suggests, implicate the images which partake of the definition of such surfaces and the ethical choices implicit in them. By inscribing such traces of the past into remembering not as duty but rather as understanding, both films open up past affect to a reading in the present as an ethical choice of knowledge and action.

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Fig. 1. Lutz Becker, *The Lion of Judah* (1981), film-still © Lutz Becker



Fig. 2. Lutz Becker, *The Lion of Judah* (1981), film-still © Lutz Becker

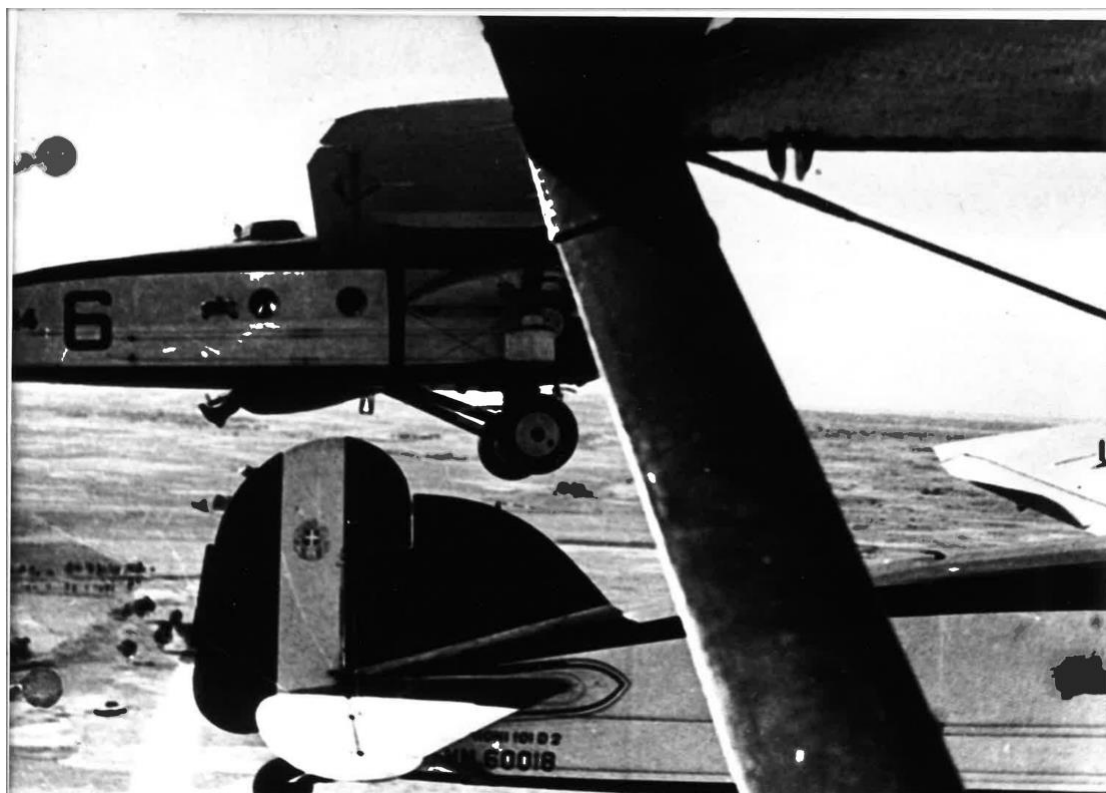


Fig. 3. Lutz Becker, *The Lion of Judah* (1981), film-still © Lutz Becker



Fig. 4. Lutz Becker, *The Lion of Judah* (1981), film-still © Lutz Becker

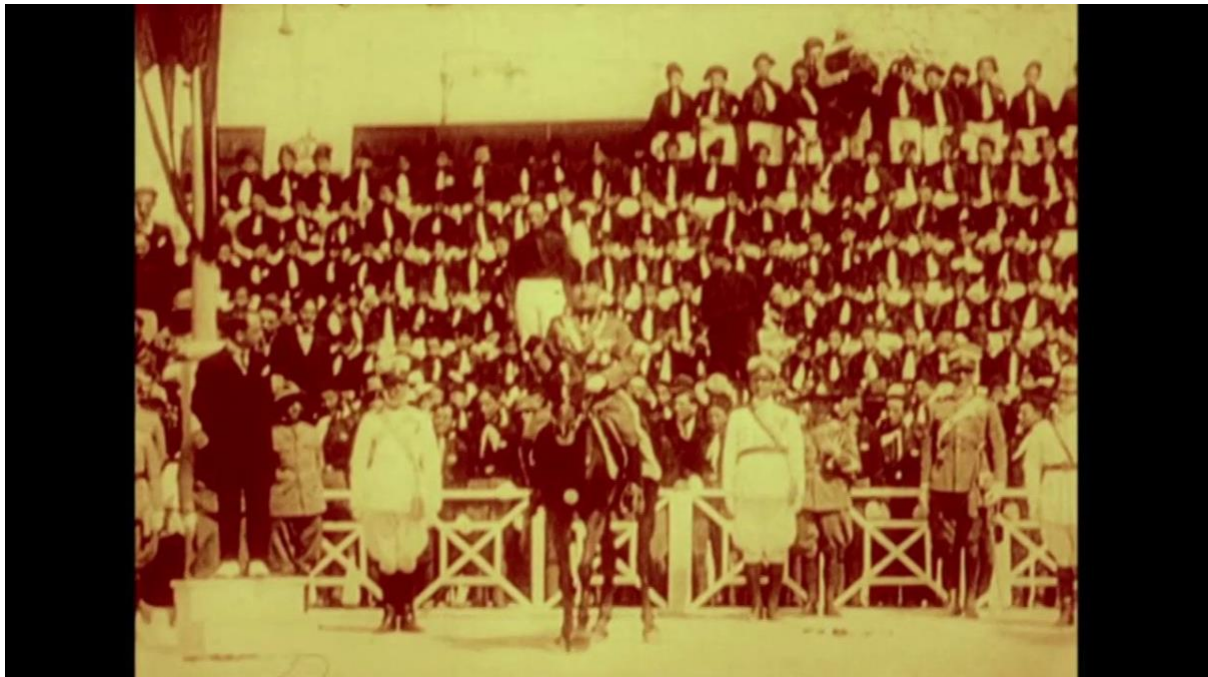


Fig. 5. Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi, *Barbarous Country*, 2013, film still © Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi



Fig. 6. Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi, *Barbarous Country*, 2013, film still © Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi

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Fig. 7. Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi, *Barbarous Country*, 2013, video still © Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi



Fig. 8. Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi, *Barbarous Country*, 2013, video still © Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi

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¹ Sven Lindqvist, *A History of Bombing*, translated by Linda Haverty Rugg (London: Granta, 2012), p. 4.

² Ibid., p. 77.

³ Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema: The Logistic of Perception*, translated by Patrick Camiller (London: Verso, 2009), pp. 71-89.

⁴ Simone Belladonna, *Gas in Etiopia: I Crimini Rimossi dell'Italia Coloniale*, (Venezia: Rizzoli, 2015), p. 15. See also Angelo Del Boca, *Angelo I Gas di Mussolini: il Fascismo e la Guerra d'Etiopia* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 2007).

⁵ Belladonna, *Gas in Etiopia*, p. 25. See also Giorgio Rochat, 'The Italian Air Force in the Ethiopian War (1935-1936)', in Ruth Ben-Ghiat and Mia Fuller ed., *Italian Colonialism* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), pp. 37-46.

⁶ Enzo Traverso, *Le passé: modes d'emploi. Histoire, mémoire, politique* (Paris: La fabrique editions, 2017), p. 37.

⁷ Ibid., p. 38.

⁸ Angelo Del Boca and Nicola Labanca 2002, *L'impero africano del fascismo nelle fotografie dell'Istituto Luce* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 2002), p.12. See also Luca Cristini, *Abyssian's Sky (Memories and Shots of an Italian Volunteer)* (Borghetto Lodigiano: SoldierShop Publishing, 2010); Paolo Bertella Farnetti, Adolfo Mignemi, Alessandro Triulzi ed. *L'impero nel cassetto: L'Italia colonial tra album privati e archivi pubblici* (Milano and Udine: Mimesis Edizioni, 2013), Daniela Calanca, *Bianco e Nero: L'Istituto Nazionale Luce e l'immaginario del fascismo (1924-1940)* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2016).

⁹ Angelo Del Boca and Nicola Labanca 2002, *L'impero africano del fascismo nelle fotografie dell'Istituto Luce* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 2002), p.12. See also Luca Cristini, *Abyssian's Sky (Memories and Shots of an Italian Volunteer)* (Borghetto Lodigiano: SoldierShop Publishing, 2010); Paolo Bertella Farnetti, Adolfo Mignemi, Alessandro Triulzi ed. *L'impero nel cassetto: L'Italia colonial tra album privati e archivi pubblici* (Milano and Udine: Mimesis Edizioni, 2013), Daniela Calanca, *Bianco e Nero: L'Istituto Nazionale Luce e l'immaginario del fascismo (1924-1940)* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2016).

¹⁰ Compilation film is a genre based on the montage of extensively researched and collected archival footage and "found footage". The unrelated fragments, often filmed under unknown circumstances and diverse purposes, are brought together outside the original contexts, into a new original film. See Jay Leyda, *Films Beget Films: A Study of the Compilation Film* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1971); Jeffrey Skoller, *Shadows, Specters, Shards: Making History in the Avant-garde Film* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Rob Yeo, 'Cutting through History: Found Footage in Avant-garde Filmmaking', in Stefano Basilico ed. *Cut Film: Film as Found Object in Contemporary Video* (Milwaukee, WI: Milwaukee Art Museum, 2005); Jaimie Baron, *The Archive Effect: Found Footage and the Audiovisual Experience of History* (London: Routledge, 2014).

¹¹ Throughout we refer to the original version held at the Imperial War Museum Film Archive (London) ref. MGH 2624.

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- ¹² Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Power of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2004), pp. xiv-xv; 19-25.
- ¹³ Luisa Passerini, *Memory and Utopia: The Primacy of Intersubjectivity* (London: Equinox, 2007), p. 15.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., p. 8; see also Andreas Huyse, 'Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia' *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp. 11–29; and Dominick La Capra, *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory* (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 2004).
- ¹⁵ Caterina Albano, *Memory, Forgetting and the Moving Image* (Basington: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), pp. 132-37; 145-48.
- ¹⁶ Shiferaw Bekele, 'Preliminary Notes on Ethiopian Sources on the Italian Invasion of the Country and the Subsequent Occupation', in Paolo Bertella Farnetti, Adolfo Mignemi, Alessandro Triuli ed. *L'impero nel cassetto: L'Italia coloniale tra album private e archivi pubblici* (Milano: Mimemsis Edizione, 2013), pp. 31-36; Irma Taddei, 'Italian Memories/African Memories of Colonialism', in *L'impero nel cassette*, pp. 209-219.
- ¹⁷ Mary Ann Doane, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time: Modernity, Contingency, the Archive* (Cambridge Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 221-22. Mark Salber Phillips underlines the importance of addressing issue of mediation in historical representation, including formal structures of representation and affect since notwithstanding of the kind of medium or genre all historical representations 'incorporate elements of *making, feeling and understanding*'. Mark Salber Phillips, 'Introduction: Rethinking Historical Distance', Mark Salber Phillips, Barbara Caine, and Julia Adeney Thomas ed. *Rethinking Distance* (Basington: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), pp. 1-18, p. 6. See also Dagmar Brunow, *Remediating Transcultural Memory: Documentary Filmmaking as Archival Intervention* (Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 2015).
- ¹⁸ Peter Sloterdijk, *Terror from the Air*, translated by A. Patton and S. Corcoran (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT, 2009), pp. 9-10.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 6.
- ²⁰ Ibid., pp. 16-17.
- ²¹ Artist's communication to the author, 25.10.2015.
- ²² Giulietta Stefani, *Colonia per maschi. Italiani in Africa Orientale: una storia di genere*, Verona: Ombre Corte, 2007), p. 45.
- ²³ Kriss Ravetto, *The Unmaking of Fascist Aesthetics* (Minneapolis and London: The University of Minneapolis Press, 2001), p. 229. See also Nicola Labanca, 'Studies and Research on Fascist Colonialism, 1922-1935 Reflections on the State of the Art' in Patrizia Palumbo ed. *A Place in the Sun: Africa in Italian Colonial Culture from Post-Unification to the Present* (Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 37-61.
- ²⁴ Marie France Courriol, 'Documentary Strategies and Aspects of Realism in Italian Cinema (1935-1939)', in *The Italianist*, 34:2 (2014), pp.122-41, pp.122-23; 127-32. Despite the sense of immediacy of newsreels, filming in countries like Ethiopia required extensive preparation. See Glenn Reynolds, *Colonial Cinema: Origins, Images, Audiences* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2015), pp. 41- 50.
- ²⁵ Albano, *Memory, Forgetting and the Moving Image* (Basington: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), pp. 149-61.
- ²⁶ Pierre Sorlin, 'War and Cinema: Interpreting the Relationship', in *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 14:4 (1994), pp. 357-366, p.359.
- ²⁷ Ruth Ben-Ghiat, 'Italian Fascism's Empire Cinema', *Postcolonial Cinema Studies*, Sandra Ponzanesi and Marguerite Waller ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 20-31, p. 26.

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- ²⁸ Eyal Weizman, *The Politics of Verticality*, 2002, www.opendemocracy.net.
- ²⁹ Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* (London and New York: Verso, 2009), p. 29.
- ³⁰ ‘Five bombs hit the hospital; one a tent of the near-by field hospital; numerous explosions in the whole compound. Italian officials banned the international press from the battlefield and tried to deter other foreign witnesses. Rainer Baudendistel, *Between Bombs and Good Intentions: The Red Cross and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-1936* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006), p. 235.
- ³¹ Ibid., p. 235.
- ³² Butler, *Frames of War*, p.146.
- ³³ Avishai Margalit, *The Ethics of Memory* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 140.
- ³⁴ Albano, *Memory, Forgetting and the Moving Image*, pp. 161-64.
- ³⁵ Robert Lumley, *Entering the Frame: Cinema and History in the Films of Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi* (Oxford and Bern, Peter Lang, 2011), p. 141.
- ³⁶ Quoted in Miriam De Rosa, ‘Non, Non, Non’ Visiting the Exhibition with Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi’, *NECSUS: European Journal of Media Studies – Tangibility* Autumn (22 November 2012) <http://www.necsus-ejms.org/non-non-non-visiting-the-exhibition-with-yervant-gianikian-and-angela-ricci-lucchi>.
- ³⁷ Federica della Pria, *Dittatura e Immagine: Mussolini e Hitler nei telegiornali* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2012), p.133.
- ³⁸ Ben-Ghiat, *Italian Fascism’s Empire Cinema*, p. 21. Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi also montage the film footage of the parade in Tripoli and the use of chemical gas in Ethiopia in the video work *Diana’s Mirror (Lo Specchio di Diana)*, 1996) alongside film sequences of the archaeological excavation of two Roman Imperial galleys from Lake Nemi in Lazio, inscribing Mussolini’s colonial campaigns within the context of the fascist appropriation of Rome’s imperial past: ‘Unique and solemn monument’ – reads a 1928 intertitle found by the artists with the footage – ‘that records the skill of the Romans in the construction of the warships with which Rome launched its conquest of the empire and with it maintained its dominance for centuries’. Quoted in Lumley, *Entering the Frame*, p. 105.
- ³⁹ della Pria, *Dittatura e Immagine*, p. 289.
- ⁴⁰ See also Nicola Labanca, ‘Italian Colonial Interment’ in Ben-Ghiat and Fuller ed., *Italian Colonialism*, pp. 27-36.
- ⁴¹ Giorgio Agamben, ‘Notes on Gesture’, in *Notes Without End: Notes on Politics*, translated by Vincenzo Binetti and Cesare Casarino (Minneapolis and London: Minnesota University Press, 2000), pp. 49-59, p. 58.
- ⁴² Christa Blümlinger, ‘Cartografia dei gesti’, translated by Studio Bozzola in Alessandro Lissoni and Chiara Bertola ed. *Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi Non Non Non* Quaderno Hangar Bicocca N. 1 exhibition catalogue (Milano: Hangar Bicocca, 2012), pp. 31-33, p. 32.
- ⁴³ Ibid., p. 32.
- ⁴⁴ Stefani, *Colonia per maschi*, pp. 39-49.
- ⁴⁵ Silvana Palma, ‘Mirror with a Memory? La confezione dell’immagine coloniale’, in Farnetti, Mignemi, Triuli ed. *L’impero nel cassetto*, pp. 81-107, Benetta Guerzoni, ‘Etiopia 1936. La collezione fotografica di Gino Cigarini tra pubblico e privato’, in Farnetti, Mignemi, Triuli ed. *L’impero nel cassetto*, pp. 109-133. See also Adolfo Mignemi ed., *Immagine coordinate per un impero. Etiopia 1935-1936* (Torino: Gruppo Editoriale Forma, 1983/84), pp.190-93.
- ⁴⁶ Stefani, *Colonia per maschi*, pp. 102 and 135.
- ⁴⁷ Quoted in Lumley, *Entering the Frame*, pp. 102-03.

⁴⁸ Ben-Ghiat, 'Italian Fascism's Empire Cinema', p. 26.

⁴⁹ Stefani, *Colonia per maschi*, p. 87. See also Cecilia Boggio, 'Black Shirts/Black Skins: Fascist Italy's Colonial Anxieties and Lo Squadrone Bianco', in Patrizia Palumbo ed. *A Place in the Sun*, pp. 279-298.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 40-41.

⁵¹ Geoff Eley, *Nazism as Fascism: Violence, Ideology and the Ground of Consent in Germany 1930-1945* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. vi and 214-18.

⁵² Ibid., p. vi.

⁵³ Andrew Hoskins and Ben O'Loughlin, *War and Media: The Emergence of Diffused War* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), p. 109. For a discussion of memory and mediation see also Astrid Erll and Anna Rigney, 'Introduction: Cultural Memory and its Dynamics', in Astrid Erll and Anna Rigney ed. *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*, (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2009), pp. 1-11. For a discussion of transcultural practices of memory see also Rick Crownshaw, 'Introduction', *Parallax*, 17: (4) 2011, pp. 1-3; Astrid Erll 'Travelling Memory', *Parallax*, 17: (4) 2011, pp. 4-18; Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009); Michael Rothberg, 'Introduction: between Memory and Memory. From Lieux de Mémoire to Noeuds de Mémoire', in Michael Rothberg, Deberati Sanyal and Max Silverman ed. *Noeuds de mémoire: Multidirectional Memory in Postwar French and Francophone Culture* (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 3-12; Lucy Bond and Jessica Rapson, ed. *The Transcultural Turn: Interrogating Memory between the Borders* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter. 2014).

⁵⁴ Hoskins and O'Loughlin, *War and Media*, p. 105.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 105.

⁵⁶ Butler, *Frames of War*, p. 73.

⁵⁷ Ann Laura Stoler Along the Archival Grain in Farnetti, Mignemi, Triuli ed. *L'impero nel cassetto*, p.4.

⁵⁸ Butler, *Frames of War*, p. 67.

⁵⁹ Georges Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz*, translated by Shane B Lillis (Chicago, IL and London: Chicago University Press, 2008), p. 180.

⁶⁰ Traverso, *Le passé: modes d'emploi*, p. 16.

⁶¹ Sloterdijk, *Terror from the Air*, p. 29.